re-born in this wicked world. But see also "Heaven."

[109]

NORTHERNER--chángpa. The nomad Tartars inhabiting the country between Ladák and Lhása are called "Chángpa." These are of course not "northerners" from the Ladák point of view, but "westerners." The word "Chángpa" cannot be used with reference to any people other than these Tartars. Other people must be described as "Yárkhandis," or as the case may be.

[110]

NUN--chómo (a full nun); geytshulma (a novice); chólok (one who having been a nun, returns to her former life, probably for the sake of matrimony). Cunningham says a full nun is called "geylongsma," but this title is not known in Ladák. The explanations given under the head "Láma," showing the mode in which men become monks, generally apply, mutatis mutandis to nuns also. The dress of the nun is, in the main, similar to that of the neophyte; she is recruited in the same manner, and is permitted to relinquish her profession in the same manner. The yellow sect nuns shave their heads, but the red sect do not. No nuns actually live in a monastery or convent; they live in houses just outside the monastery. A nun's room or house is called "chómo i tráSHak" or "tráSHak," and the word chómóling is used to signify generally the quarter occupied by nuns. The yellow sect nuns are of good moral character, but the red sect nuns are no better than they should be. Nuns have quarters set apart for them inside the monastery, where they are supposed to sit and pray together. They do not join with monks in prayer, and are not even allowed to be present when the "skurim" or "sacrifice" ceremony is being performed. There are no ranks, and apparently there is no discipline, among nuns. Among the "dukpa," or red sect, both neophytes and monks, and novices and nuns, may, and do, work as coolies, or in the fields, but among the "geylukspa," or yellow sect, neophytes and novices may do work, but not monks or nuns. In addition to the modes of recruiting mentioned under the heading "Láma," it may be mentioned that if a man who wants children is childless, he often vows that if his wife is made fruitful he will give his first born, as a monk or nun, in token of his gratitude. Nuns never wear the bag (chhapreel), in which is kept the brass vessel (chhapluk) for holding the holy, or incantation, water (hngakschhoo).

595 But it must be - - - that
562 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

• 842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan [781] woman to be sterile (mo-sam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her /118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

did and she also gave the sacrificial priest (mcod-gnas) a few rupees "for the monastery," which the priest received with a satisfied "Oh, Oh!" He then blessed her and assured her that her wish would now soon be fulfilled and that she would be delivered of a little boy. Meanwhile nothing of the kind happened. The lamas declared that perhaps unconsciously and without willing to do so, the Dragshos must have angered the Tara, so that their prayers and offerings had remained ineffective. The Dragshos people now let it go at that and did not bring any more offerings; the matter became too expensive, and Namgyal did not trust a single lama of the circle of his closer relatives any more, except the hermit Tsetan. Namgyal and his father had too often found themselves swindled by them. Within the following three years Chosskyid bore two girls; in the sixth year of their marriage there finally came the ardently desired son, a circumstance which caused great joy in the house of the Dragshos. By this the happiness of the young couple was increased and man and wife became even more strongly attached to one another.

How different was it in many another house in the village! The polyandrous relationship was the cause of much conflict, quarreling and jealousy; often the woman preferred one of the younger husbands to the oldest one who after all had a claim to the first right of a husband; often enough the younger husbands of one woman looked for compensation for lack of marital happiness outside the house. The man who goes on journeys cannot always be sure of the faithfulness of the wife he is leaving behind, especially when he is her sole owner; even less does the man who goes on travels remain bound to his promise to be faithful, during the time of his absence. Often the man sees only a maid in his wife, who must subordinate herself to him in all things and who must comply with all his moods and desires. Often he vents his displeasure with vicious maltreatment, and very frequently a complete break, a divorce (131), then takes place.

131. Divorces often occur in Tibet and are not infrequently brought about in the most frivolous manner. In the case of continuing unproductiveness of the woman, her unfaithfulness, or as a consequence of serious disagreement between man and wife, the man dismisses his wife; and frequently the latter also leaves her husband if he maltreats her. The old royal law (rgyal-k'rims) states that the guilty party, the one who breaks up the marriage must pay the other party compensation

782 inscriptions and the rock drawings that are still preserved there. One inscription near Ke-sar-gyi-sga, which is not yet completely de-
782 cipherable, ends with the very clear syllables bu-skyes, "a son was
842 born." This is preceded by a date in the cycle of twelve, then there follows a name and the information (probably) that a stupa, a tower of relics, has been presented as an offering (2). The information

[113]

2. See my article, "Historische Dokumente" /Historic Documents/ and so forth, Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI.

concerning the birth of a son in this place would lead one to conclude that here the people prayed for the blessing of offspring. This surmise becomes almost a certainty when we take into consideration the rock drawings and the charcoal drawings found in these places.
782 Near aBru-gui-phan-lo we find not only natural rock formations by
831 the cliff which resemble a spindle or the female sex organs, but we
532 also find, in addition, a great many charcoal drawings of the same
842 nature. In aBru-gui-dabs-khor I found charcoal drawings of a similar kind done on large, round, flat stones. On one stone the male and the female sex organs had been drawn together. On another stone I encountered pictures of two goats, evidently a male and a female, the male running after the other. In the back part of the body of the goat in front a little goat had been drawn in. I regard both drawings as prayers imploring the blessing of offspring. In the former case the drawing is supposed to express the wish to let the sexual organs perform their functions properly. This explanation is certainly not too far-fetched. Missionary Ribbach, who was formerly in Leh, also informs me that he frequently encountered representations of the male and the female sex organs made of lime. He likewise considers these representations as offerings accompanying prayers. This is reminiscent of the practice which appears in many places of making an offering of a pictorial representation of the sick part of the body. The picture of the goats mentioned above probably expresses the request for a child /28/ in an even clearer
[825] manner. The ram, like all male wild animals, seems to be sacred to Kesar. Otherwise the great mass of rock drawings, which always represent the same things, cannot be understood, for they certainly cannot be explained in every case as hunting reports. In addition to this we should mention the custom, already commented upon, of preserving the horns of the wild animals on pre-Buddhistic altars (lHa-tho). With respect to the rock drawings I should like to add the observation that I found especially many representations of the

spindle (or the female sex organs) in Lahoul in the valley of the Bhaga River. I noticed only one rock drawing there of the male sex organs. In that region the name Bhaga, which can be translated by "sex organ," may have given rise to the practice of decking out the rocks with such emblems. That they had confidence in the ability of Kesar (and of aBru-gu-ma) to dispense children, we see from the saga about rGyal-sa-dkar-po (see Paladins). There Kesar prophesies to a girl that she will not only get a wealthy husband but also that she will bear seven children. 782 831 532 842

Festivals of the Ancient Tibetan Religion 796

1. The New Year's festival (Lo-gsar). Of this festival, which probably corresponds to the ancient winter solstice, I possess one description which the schoolteacher of Khalatse prepared in Tibetan. In this document it is stated: From the fifteenth of the tenth month to the twenty-fourth, children carry torches to a certain field. From the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth they light a fire on the public dancing place where all the people gather. All the farmers bake a kind of bread called ba-ga-tam, and this bread they store away. Then the children go to all the doors and say:

This is a good day, a good star.
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this day,
Ba-ga-tam belongs to this star!
Now every day is a lucky one!
May every year be a lucky one!
The boys get brides for themselves,
Wedding feasts are held,
White beer is poured out,
White pieces of butter are given with it!
A ram is killed.
May a son be born to you!
Give us a ba-ga-tam -- bread!

In this way the children collect many loaves of the bread, which they then distribute and eat.

The thirtieth day is called sTon (assistance). Then the relatives entertain one another. In the afternoon the men march out to the field with torches and music. Here they play the bra-sol (?). Thereupon the Mon (Indian caste of carpenters) must perform five exorcisms of the devil (skrad), during which rifles are fired and everybody shouts "te-ya-ho." Then the torches are heaped up in one pile and a dance is done around them with swords and rifles, as

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 961 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings [1]

531

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse.

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 - - Analysis]

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

1 [See pl. 103-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

15: Francke - 111 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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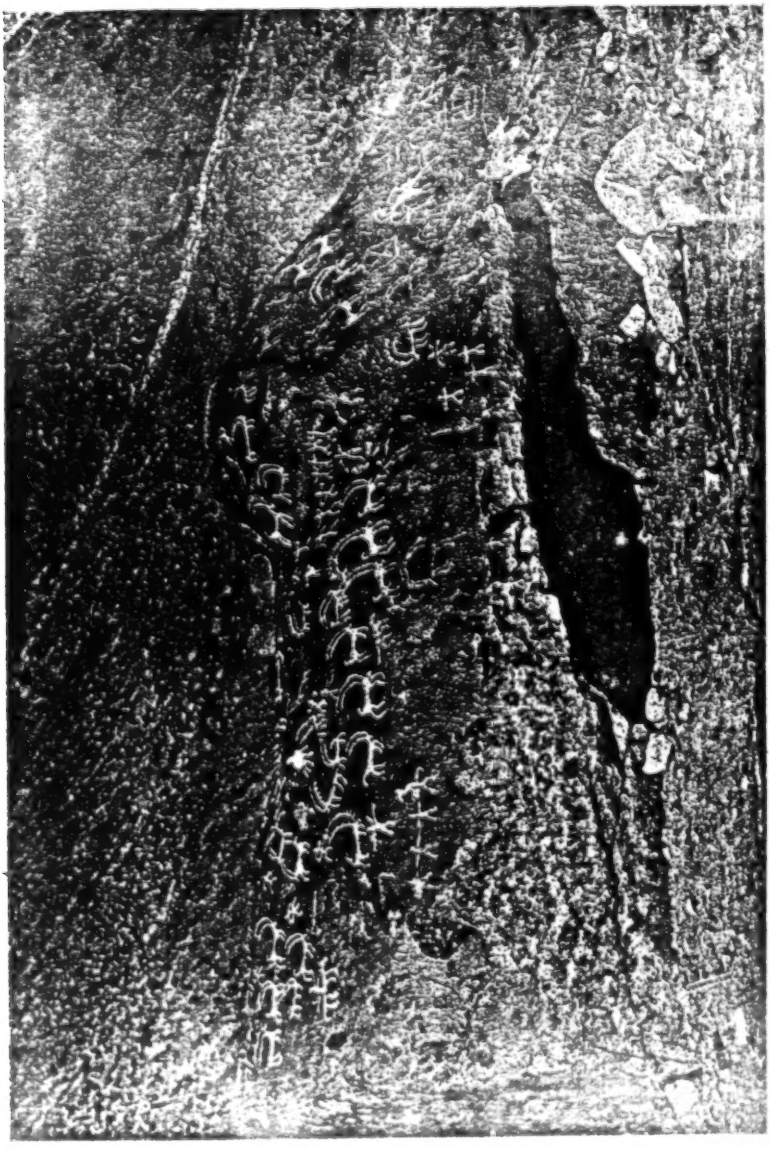

Nr 11. [illegible] for above picture on p. 10.

15: Francke --112 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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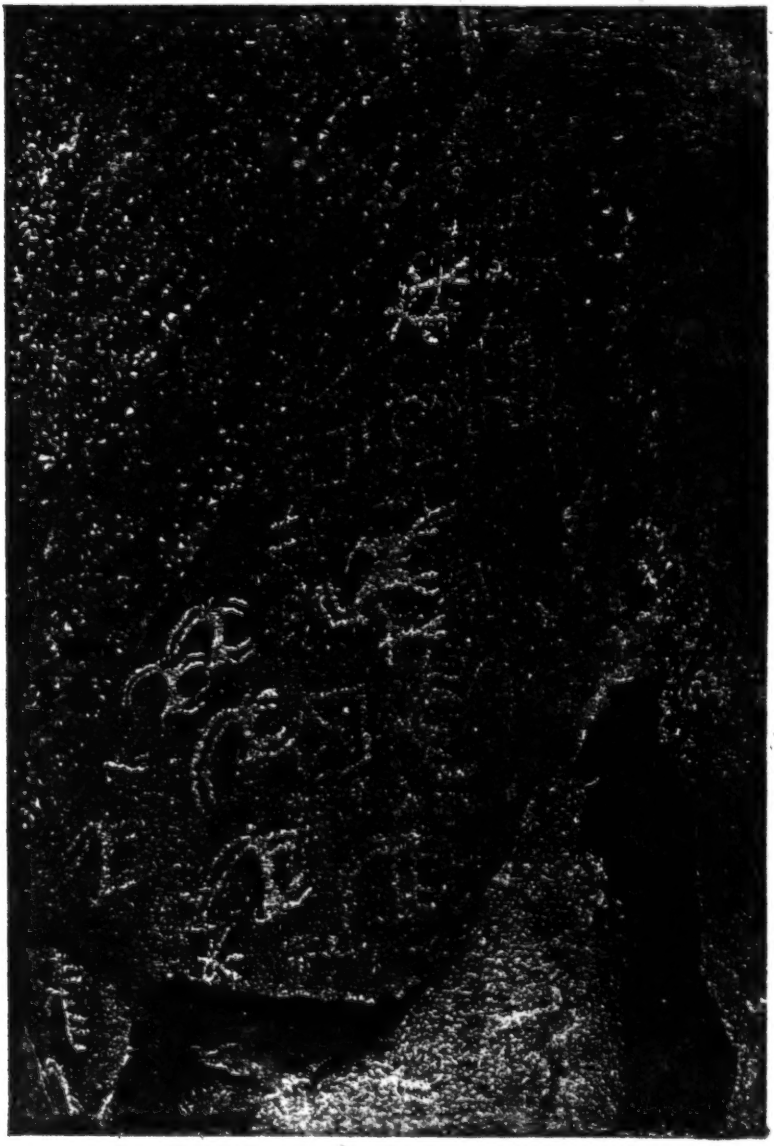

Nr. 12. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[84]

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
357

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

594 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

595 [851] [842] although sometimes he is known. It was true, the Thakur said, that when a family had no issue, a man from outside was called in in an attempt to sire a child for them. Such a man was called a *p'horjag* (*P'ho-rJag*) as in other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet where the custom was also followed. It was not particularly well looked upon in Lahul, and was only rarely resorted to. Monogamous families seemed to favour it more than polyandrous ones, he added.

595 855 The care and upbringing of the children were also a joint concern, I was told. It could not be said that any one parent, be it one of the fathers or the mother, had a more important role to play in this respect [854] than the others. But of course, when children were very young, the mother looked after them more than the fathers. Later on, it was perhaps the brother with the greatest personality who played a prominent part in the education of the children. On the whole, however, the men seemed afraid of their sons, believing that if they treated them badly, they themselves might suffer for it later on in life.

595 428 [626] Young people often revolted against polyandry, but experience showed that it was nevertheless still the best policy to follow. Fathers put pressure on their boys, when they rose in rebellion against the idea of sharing a wife, by threatening to withold handing down the family property to them. This was generally quite sufficient to make the young men change their minds.

595 [598] [182] In conclusion, summing up his views on polyandry, Thakur Partap Chand said that the system worked pretty smoothly on the whole. There was little quarrelling and not much jealousy. The reason for which this matrimonial custom was practised was an economic one: the soil was poor, the holdings small, and there was little possibility of acquiring other arable land. Each family had to hang on to what it owned; partition was strenuously avoided.

601 I obtained a few kinship terms from the informant, but not as many as I was able to gather, later, in other areas of Tibetan culture. Those I obtained in Lahul, however, are of interest from a comparative point of view, because they are more archaic linguistically than those now in use in Tibet proper and show a persistance of old forms in these remote western valleys. Grandfather (both father's and mother's father) is *me-me* (*Mes-mes*) in Lahul; grand uncles (paternal and maternal grandfather's brothers), *lamas* (*bLama*), and any old men are also called by this appellation. Grandmother (mother's and father's mother) is *api* (*Ap'hyi*), as are also maternal and paternal grand aunts, nuns, known as *chomos* (*Jo-mo*), and other old women.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

The Lahuli term for father is *apa* (*Ap'ha*), and a distinction is made between eldest father, *apa chembo* (*Ap'ha ch'hen-po*), middle father, *apa chung-ngan* (*Ap'ha ch'hung-ngu*) or *apa panna* (probably an Indian term), and the youngest, *agu* (*A-gu*), by which term (which strictly means paternal uncle), all other younger brothers of the eldest fathers are called.

The mother is known as *ama* (*A-ma*). Husband and wife are both called *zhidmat* (*Zhid-sMat*) or *troks* (*Drogs*). A wife calls her eldest husband *ajo* (*A-jo*) or more respectively *ga-ga* (*Ga-ga*), and the younger ones *no* (*No*) or honorifically *ga-ga chung-ngan* (*Ga-ga ch'hung-ngu*). The eldest husband calls his wife *ache* (*A-ch'he*), (which is another word for sister); the oher husbands call her *nomo* (*No-mo*), while all of them, speaking of her to each other, refer to her as *ane* (*A-ne*) (which also has the meaning of aunt), or *zhidmat*. People outside the family will speak of the wife also as *zhidmat* and of the husbands as *go-bu* (*mGo-Bu*), for the eldest, *panna* (Indian?) for the middle one, and *t'ha-chung-ngan* (*mT'ha-ch'hung-ngu*) for the youngest.

In a polygynous household, the eldest wife goes by the name of *chan-chen* (*Byan-ch'hen*), the second one by that of *Chan-chung-ngan* (*Byan-ch'hung-ngu*), and the youngest is called *yang-chung-ngan* (*Yang-ch'hung-ngu*). Eldest boys, before they are married, are known as *gaga* (*Ga-ga*), and youngest as *no-no* (*No-no*). I have already said that a man called in to a family to produce children when the husbands have failed to do so with their common wife is called a *p'horjag*. Sometimes, a second man is also asked to assist if the first one fails, in which case he is called a *po-chung-ngan* (*P'ho-ch'hung-ngu*). Sons go by the name of *bu-tsa* (*Bu-ts'ha*), while daughters are called *bu-mo* (*Bu-mo*).

The Lahulis of Tibetan cultural affinity belong also to various patrilineal clans, each one descendant from a common ancestor. These are called *rü* (*Rus*), meaning "bone", and those belonging to them are known as *rü-pa* (*Rus-pa*). The Thakur gave me a list of some of the main ones, the name they bore, he said, being that of the ancestor. They are the following:

1. Guram Shing-pa (*Gur-ram Shing-pa*) or Jo (*Jo*), meaning "Sugar cane one" or "Lord", the clan to which he himself belonged. They were descendants, he told me, of the preserved semen of a Tibetan ascetic which had been fertilized on a piece of sugar cane.
2. Lön-chen-pa (*bLon-ch'hen-pa*), "Minister one".
3. Miru-pa (*Mi-rus-pa*), "Human bone one" or "Villager from Miru" (in Ladak).

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name).

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax.

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born.

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of marriage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

profession is hereditary, and although the other members of the family lived as peasants, one of the sons, usually the eldest, was educated as a doctor and became proficient in the trade, extra to the otherwise habitual agricultural work.

In the *k'hang-chen*, we found no less than four married men, sharing a very young wife (I was told that she was only fifteen, but considering that she had five children already, I feel that this could not have been true). The genealogy of the family is given here in Table 32.

The informant, Chonde, had two sisters, one older and one younger. They were both married off in *bag-ma*, and the youngest proved to be Tsewang Rolma whom we had met in the Tsang-bi Household, where she was wed to Tsang Dondrup as his second wife.

Of the informant's children, one, the third, had became a lama, while the fifth had preferred to go and be the *mag-pa* of the Amchi family (a related doctor's household, but bearing the name of the trade as a patronimic) than to remain at home with his brothers and share their common wife.

I did not visit another polyandrous household and make its genealogy until the 17th September 1938. And when I did so, it was at Chushod, opposite Leh, on the left bank of the Indus. Most of the inhabitants of this town are Musulmans, but there are a few Buddhist famililes among them, and it was interesting to see how they had retained their customs, including polyandry.

The family which Nono Tse-P'hün had specially brought me to see, however, was one in which there was a *porjag*, that is an extra man brought in when the husband or husbands fail to produce a child with their wife. The household name of this family was *Shing-k'hang pa* (*Shing-K'hang-pa*), and it consisted of only one man and his wife, Rigzin and Ishe Palkid, to which a younger man, the *porjag*, called Paldan, had been added. I made their genealogy, which I give in Table 33. It will be seen that other members of the household had left it to marry outside: Ngawang Standzin to become a lama, another brother of Rigzin, Skalzang, to become a *mag-pa*, a sister, now called Amina, who, having married a Musulman and changed her religion, was not considered to be part of the Buddhist community any longer, and Ishe Paljor, the youngest, who was a *porjag* in the Bata household (see Table 34).

The *k'hang-gu* in the fields of this household stood empty, its occupants, Rigzin's parents, P'huntzok and Paldzom, being dead now. The *k'hang-chen* which we visited was a house of normal Ladaki pro-

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595 portions, although rather poorer than those of Leh, the inhabitants of Chushod not being so well off as those of the Ladaki capital. I was struck by the untidy, dirty and miserable appearance of those whom we interviewed. None of them acted specially as informant, Nono Tse-P'hün putting his questions to all three of the occupants of the *k'hang-chen*.

595 842 Ishe Palkid's story was that she had been married at 21 and that she had had a child almost immediately but which was, unfortunately, still-born. She had then waited for five years, and as she did not have another baby, and also because Rigzin was alone to cultivate the fields, she agreed to her husband's proposal that Paldan of the Tagchod household should be called in. He was the youngest son of that family, and agreed to join the couple in his double role of extra cultivator and sire to the descendence of the Shing-k'hang household. Seven years had now passed since he had come, but Ishe Palkid did not conceive again. In [599] desperation, they were thinking now of adopting a child, and their choice had already fallen upon one of the sons of Skalzan of the Shingo-pa household.

Upon enquiry, I found that the *porjag* was looked upon exactly as if he were a brother of Rigzin and that this polyandry, which was not fraternal, was, in fact, effectively treated as if it were so. Everything belonging to Rigzin in the house was now shared with the *porjag*, Paldan, who was a *de facto* joint proprietor of the Shing-k'hang-pa property. Paldan was some seven years younger than the wife, having been married to her when he was only nineteen. Rigzin, from a Ladaki point of view even, was not old and quite able to work. He was approximately thirty five, and in good health. But he did not seem able to cultivate the land as he should, and needed another man to help him, he said.

594 114 On the 18th September 1938, that is the next day, we went and saw another household, near Leh, in which there was also a *porjag*. It was in a family called *Bata* (*Ba-ta?*) and as things turned out, the genealogy which I made there proved to be the most representative of all those I made in Ladak; it is the one with the greatest variety of cases, showing all the different aspects of the way the social system functions among those polyandrous people.

I have already published this genealogy, the genealogy of the *Tsong-k'har-pa* (*Btsong-mK'har-pa*) household, in *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Ser. II, vol. 10, April 1948, No. 6, under the title "Tibetan, Toda and Tiya Polyandry: a Report of Field Investigation". It appears on page 215 of the above publication, but in the

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son, Murup, was, however, made Döndrup's heir at the Bata household, so that he came to join his youngest father there, without putting the latter in a *k'hang-gu*. Some time later, he married Palkid of Tarig, and continued to live with his father in the Bata *k'hang-chen*. This was some twenty four years ago, and in the meantime, Palkid not having any children, it was decided that a *porjag* should be called in. The reason for this was apparently not only because of the wife's sterility. As in the earlier case at Shing-k'hang-pa, I was told that Döndrup and Murup were insufficient to cultivate the land, and that another man was needed. Ishe Paljor of Shing-k'hang-pa household was thus called in four years before my visit, and duly married to Palkid as her extra husband. He was certainly a help in working the fields, but he in no way remedied the barrenness of Murup's wife. She told me that they were now thinking adopting an heir, but she could not say whom they had in mind at this early stage.

In the Tsong-k'har-pa household, I heard, there were now three *k'hang-gus:* one was that in which Putit, Döndrup's mother, lived (she was still alive); the other, the one in which Ishe Paljor and Sang-gyä Tsomo lived (Ishe, the younger brother had died after the polyandrous marriage); and the third was the quite paradoxical case of Deskid, the couple's daughter, who had rented one from her brother, Rigzin, who was now in possession of the *k'hang-chen* with his wife, Tsering of Shorepa, and their three children. On this rented portion, of which she was a tenant without occupation, she lived with a *mag-pa* whom she had taken to herself, a certain Tonyot of Azim-pa, and had one boy. Her share was considered as a split-off portion of the Tsong-k'har-pa household, and bore the name of Ralwa Tsong-k'har-pa, or "cleft Tsong-k'har-pa". Her son was apparently considered to be the heir to this new household, but how this was possible, considering the tenancy was of so precarious a nature, was not explained to me.

Rigzin and Deskid had a younger brother, Ngawang, who had, however, left the family before his elder brother married, and become a lama at Himis gompa. He was entitled to a share of the family property in accordance with Ladaki customary law, but for the time being was not claiming it, and lived together with his fellow-monks on the revenue of the monastery. He was also entitled to share his elder brother's wife with the latter, his order not being celibate, but it was not specified whether he did so or not.

Döndrup told us that of his other children, a daughter, now called Aisha, bore that name because she had married a Moslem Ladaki with whom she lived in Leh.

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which I collected later, in Kalimpong, about Central Tibet – the *rü* does not carry with it such obligations between its members. It seems to be confined to the single function of prohibiting marriage within its fold. It is only an exogamous unit and not an association for mutual assistance.

In *East and West* (see Bibliography) I published a complete list of thirty five *p'haspuns* of Ladak, involving eighty six families, whose names, meaning of appellation, name of *lha*, and remarks on each of them, I have given simultaneously. Readers are referred to this article for the information, which I endeavoured to make as exhaustive as possible.

Regarding the question of the exogamy of the *p'haspuns* of Ladak, I was told by Nono Tse-P'hün as well as by his father-in-law, Joseph Gergan, that no one paid the slightest attention any longer to rules forbidding marriage within the *p'haspun*. As long as people were "not related", as they put it, (meaning, no doubt, not immediately related by ties of close family kinship), marriage was possible between members of families constituting a same *p'haspun*. The latter were really only inter-assistance organizations, they said, and had nothing to do with marriage rules any longer.

Ordinary folk from Ladak, however, from Leh and from its surroundings, whom I met on my visits to polyandrous households, and later, in Kalimpong, when they were on their way to or from Lhasa on pilgrimage, assured me that one should marry only outside the *p'haspun* to which one belonged. They all said that, as far as they were concerned, they would not think of doing otherwise.

The explanation of such divergent views must surely be, then, that probably these vary with the class to which a man belongs, and to which my informants belonged. The wealthier and more educated people, such as Joseph Gergan and his son-in-law, no longer consider it necessary to heed the ancient exogamous rules of the *p'haspun*. They have outgrown them, have become modern, and such rules appear meaningless to them. But the peasant population of Ladak, by nature very conservative and certainly much less discerning, still adhere strictly to the rules, although they do so quite instinctively as the "right" thing to do, and would be completely at a loss if they had to give the reason for their action.

I asked Joseph Gergan on one occasion (actually by letter to which I received a reply on the 27th December 1938) if a *porjag* could be of the same *p'haspun* as the common wife, or if he should be of the

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595 614 582 842 same as the first husbands. His answer was that he should preferably be of another *p'haspun* than the common wife (the rule of exogamy playing here) but that there was no objection to him being of the same one as the husbands, although it was not compulsory. He remarked that such an extra man brought in to sire children in a barren union was generally younger than the men to whom the woman was married earlier.

614 765 783 846 [264] [784] Within each Ladaki *p'haspun* there exist rules of death and birth pollution which are observed for varying periods of time according to the *p'haspun*. I have given the length of the period in each case (varying from one week to one month) in the publication mentioned above about the *p'haspuns*. The essence of this ritualistic observation is that people of the same *p'haspun* may not eat together for the stipulated period of time when they are either *Bangak* (*Bang-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a parturient woman") in the case of birth pollution, or *Rongag* (*Ro-Ngag-la aDzem-ches*, "to shrink from speaking to a dead body") if it is death pollution that makes them ritually unclean.

614 846 264 783 784 [241] During the period of birth pollution, extra to not eating with members of one's *p'haspun*, parents may not go into the fields, must have nothing to do with agriculture if the event take place during a period of ploughing, sowing or harvesting, and may not jump over any irrigating water channel in the fields, for the whole period of time. The mother particularly, is not allowed to touch any of the eating utensils, the fire-place, or other people's food. Before the return to normal can take place for all these people, a *lhabsang* (*lHa-bSang*) or "god-clean" ceremony has to occur at the home of the afflicted. It is conducted by a lama who reads the scriptures (prayers which my notes call *lhabSag*) while he beats cymbals and a drum. He is offered tea in the customary fashion.

614 783 765 [264] Another period of ritual uncleanliness with Ladakis is that which follows the death of a wife or a husband. When one of the latter dies, the wife is *yuksamo* (*Yugs-sa-mo*) or polluted for a duration of time varying in accordance with circumstances, whether it is the eldest or a younger spouse who has died, and also with respect to different parts of Ladak. During this time, the widow will cover herself with a black piece of clothing, sit in some dark recess of the house, and have her food cooked and served to her in separate dishes from the rest of the family. She, too, is restored to normality again when her relations come, bringing a lama with them, and perform a *lhabsang* ceremony of purification.

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595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 177 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

000 ### *THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER*

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
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misconduct, no easy task in a country where the moral code is not too high and where husbands are prepared to share their wife. 586

The children of a family have one "big father" and several "little fathers". When the husband who actually married the woman dies, she need not remain with the brothers or junior husbands. If she wishes to leave them, she just ties a thread to the finger of her dead husband, breaks it, and is at once free of them all. It is a land where women enjoy unfettered power and liberty. 595

The simpleness of these people was early on demonstrated to me. We had considered ourselves fortunate in securing the services of a shikari from Leh who had taken a party through from that city the previous season to Baltistan to shoot markhor, afterwards going down with them to Srinagar. He had been away from his home for nearly a year, but showed no great delight on returning there, even though he met his brother who had also just returned from Tibet, he being a guide who each season took parties through from Leh to Lhasa, a three months' journey. Both men must have been in their late thirties, their wife was a comely soul of about the same age; she carried a baby which was not yet able to walk, and when next day I visited the house, which both brothers insisted that I must see, it was obvious, even although she was wearing the full dress of her countrywomen, that there was another child on the way.

After a while a boy, who might have been fifteen years old, came in and, since he acted as though he was a member of the household, I naturally took him to be a son, but not a bit of it, he was the third husband. Then I started working things out; both the elder brothers had been away from their home for so long that the child that was coming could only be that of the younger boy brother, and harking back again, I remembered that they had told me that the season before both had been away, so that the baby the wife carried in her arms must also have been his. It seemed that she had been married to the brothers for over twelve years and had had no children—probably both men were diseased—now when the boy brother took his place in the line, the family had started to increase. But the suggestion that they would at least know who was the father, was immediately 842 595

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842 595 blanketed, with "You do not understand. All three brothers planted the seed, the younger one only kept it watered!" And so no boy will really believe that he knows his own father, unless [602] of course the wife has but one husband. If he considers the question at all, it seems that he thinks of his mother's first husband as his father; anyway it is his name that he always gives on permits and application forms.

595 As one would expect of an heiress and her husbands, it is she who decides which of her husbands shall accommodate her, when and for how long. But this is not always the case, for when I was there the men were laughing over a very wealthy middle-aged heiress whose youngest husband, a particularly handsome magpa, having proved to her his worth as a lover, had to the astonishment of everyone become so powerful that it was he, and not she, who laid down the rules for the house, it was he who granted to his "brothers" their wife's favours, it was he who reserved the right to butt in whenever he wished. And all this came about through the old story of feminine jealousy, for the wife had caught a pretty young heiress eyeing her youthful new husband on more than one occasion, and this just after she had herself realized his qualities.

In the case of a family in which the wife is not an heiress, it is the elder brother who arranges these matters. Even then, with an extremely pretty woman there are times when the adopted brother, with whom she is really in love, manages to gain power by threatening divorce. Then, if the head of the family is weak, it is this "brother" who takes over the marital arrangements, but not the family estates or responsibilities.

It seemed from the candid remarks of my shikari guide, that with himself and his next brother having been away from their wife for so long, the boy brother would be crowded out and like so many husbands of his age, have to snatch the wife's favours when she could spare the time during the day.

The houses of the middle and higher class have one room set aside for the wife, but in the houses of the poorer people all sleep in one room. The odd thing is that although there must be arguments over the wife, seldom, if ever, does a violent quarrel take place. Probably this is because there are other outlets for passions in Ladakh.